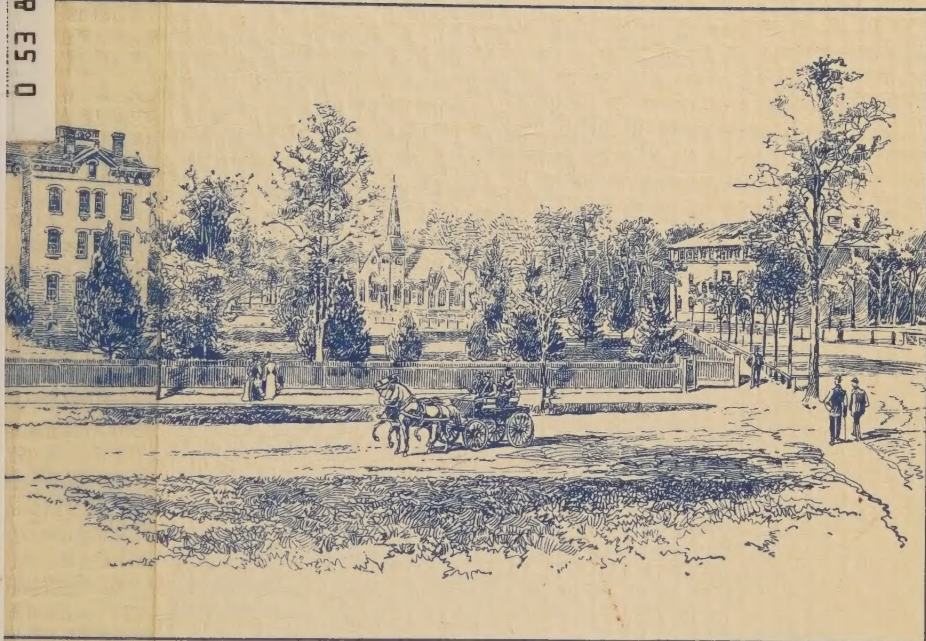


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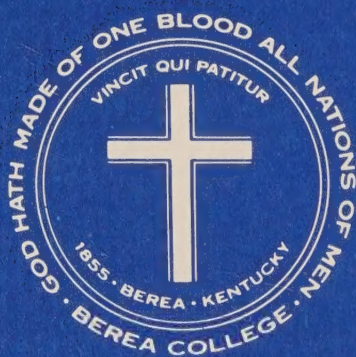
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BEREA COLLEGE: SPIRITUAL & INTELLECTUAL ROOTS



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BEREA COLLEGE: SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL ROOTS

**by
Dale W. Brown**

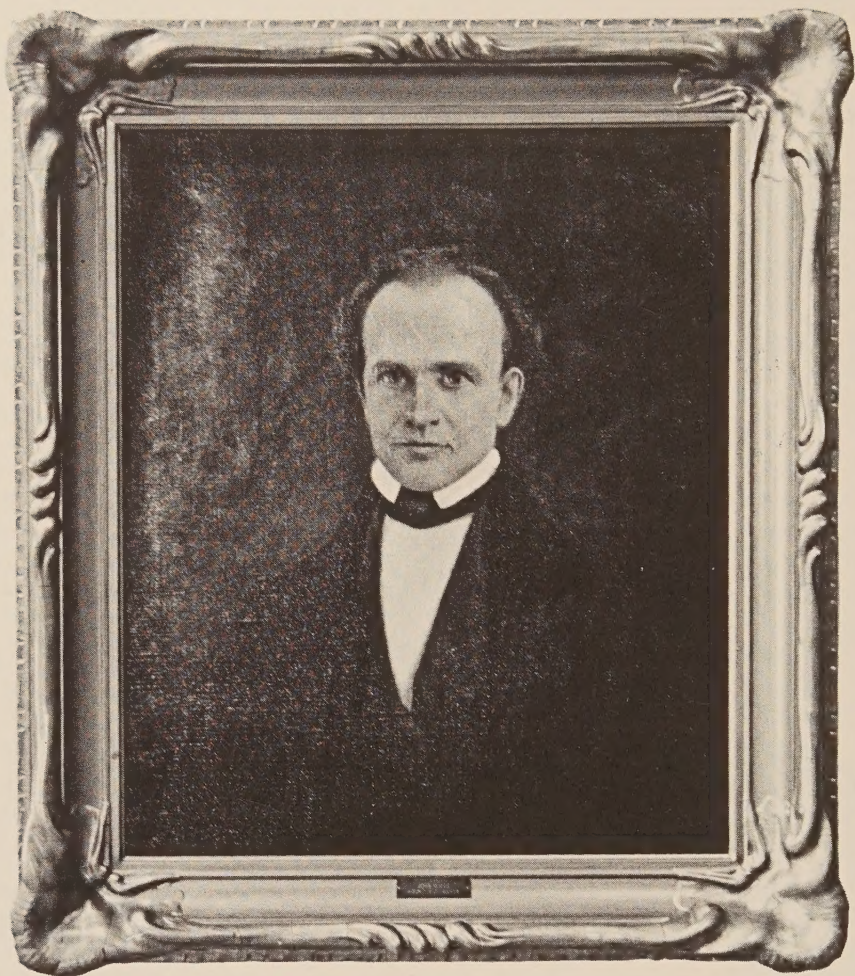
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Brown, Dale W., 1926-

Berea College : spiritual
and intellectual roots

Greene County Library



John G. Fee

PREFACE

Founders Day each year enables us to focus on the history and ideals of Berea College. In 1980, Dale Brown gave a stirring Founders Day address which we have encouraged him to expand into the present essay. Not only does he present an exciting history of the past but he also challenges us and future Bereans to express that heritage through our lives and through the College program.

The faith, theology, and educational ideals of Berea's founders can be traced to the debates, prayer meetings, and revivals of the Second Great Awakening, which swept through the middle west in the decades before the Civil War. These revivals stirred the fires of personal regeneration and breathed a whirlwind of social reform.

This awakening came at a tumultuous time in our nation's social and intellectual history. Large numbers of settlers were streaming out of the seaboard states, across the mountains, to settle in the Ohio Valley. The slavery debate was heating up as a prelude to war. Churches were dividing over questions of belief and social policy and new denominations were gaining popularity. The revivals of this awakening were the intellectual and spiritual climate in which Berea's founders were nurtured. These were men of fervent faith for whom the cause of Christ directed their personal lives and also gave coherence to their educational ideals. Thus Berea's formation was intertwined with a great intellectual upheaval in the nation.

These reformers held that a college dedicated to the cause of Christ, be it Berea or Oberlin, should have an evangelical as well as an academic purpose. The program should instruct the heart as well as the intellect in the service of God and our neighbors. Even in college there was a place for "doing good" alongside of learning well. Manual labor developed a healthy body as the vehicle for a brilliant mind and a caring heart. Education of the whole person was the natural outgrowth of a Christ-centered college.

A Christian college was held to be inevitably interracial, since all persons were one in Christ, and slavery was a sin. The same egalitarianism—where there is "neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus"—led to a coeducational program first at Oberlin, and then at Berea. The Gospel of Luke states that Jesus saw His mission as being "anointed to preach the Gospel to the poor," and John Fee certainly reflected this when he told Berea's first graduating class: "The design is to put education, practical and thorough, within the reach of the poor — the masses — colored as well as white."

A Christian view of life, inspired by the Second Great Awakening, led Berea's founders to a coherent view of education. Dale Brown explores this theme for our enlightenment and for our guidance.

Willis D. Weatherford
President, Berea College

BEREA COLLEGE: SPIRITUAL AND INTELLECTUAL ROOTS

Introduction

In responding to the invitation to serve as visiting Lilly Professor at Berea College, 1977-78, I became aware of personal affinities with the college's "great commitments." My curiosity as to origins led me to the fascinating stories of Berea's founders, which have been recited so often. From a friend who was writing a book about *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*,¹ I learned that Berea's pioneers were a part of a larger movement known as Finney revivalism, a movement which combined personal salvation and social vision in such a way as to spawn innovative colleges, a bold abolitionist stance, and many reform measures. This story constitutes a significant chapter in America's spiritual and intellectual history.

At the 125th Anniversary Founders Day Convocation, I began my address by saying how presumptuous it is for a "damned Yankee" or any outsider to attempt to delineate the college's spiritual roots. The best rationalization I have found for my giving the Founders Day address was the discovery that outsiders have had vital roles in Berea's history from the beginning. The Finney revivalists, the Oberlin perfectionists, the abolitionist missionaries were outsiders who zealously emigrated to Berea and many other outposts of the Western frontier. A part of the genius of Berea College has been serving as a meeting place of intellectual currents from New England with the rich heritage of the southern mountains, white and black, the poor and those who eat at Boone Tavern, Third World citizens and those of us who are arrogant enough to label others as Third World. At one of the early commencements when President Fairchild looked upon a crowd of three thousand people with many shades of color, status, and learning, he mused: "How appropriate are the words on the college seal: 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.'"²

Though my own theological position can be judged to be far from a carbon of Berea's founders, I have been attracted to the integrity, soundness, and power of their stance. Some will judge, happily or unhappily, that the college has wandered far from its spiritual roots. But my nine months on campus strengthened some of my positive prejudices. Through contacts with student values and the commitments of faculty and administration, I have discerned basic continuities with the early vision. Beyond the Berea constituency, there are many who are looking to the evangelical abolitionists for possible models of faith and witness to formulate a new abolitionist covenant in reference to nuclear weapons and war.³

Great Commitments. From Louis Smith's excellent brochure, *The Great Commitments of Berea College* (1967). More recently the same themes have been documented with statements from Berea College presidents in a brochure by Jerome Hughes entitled *The Distinctive Role of Berea College* (1981). Both essays highlight the commitment to Christian education, those with limited financial resources, Appalachia, liberal arts, the labor program, interracial education, and the service motive.



Berea's first chapel was a rough frame building, whitewashed inside and out, with an open belfrey. Equipped with movable partitions, it served both as classroom building and auditorium.

It may be helpful to clarify my use of the word “spiritual.” I hope to proceed in the manner of the early revival message which regarded conversion as the catalyst for the transformation of the whole person. Such preaching fostered an educational style which advocated the training of the “whole man” — body, heart, and intellect. The early preachers avoided a dualism which regards the spiritual to be something other than the rational, the material, or the bodily. Rather, they defined spiritual as encompassing the proper use of reason and the material creation. Life lived in the Spirit is life in which the total person—intellect, body and passions—relates faithfully to God and God’s creation.

It is in the context of this more inclusive definition of spiritual that I shall try to interpret Berea’s roots. As the college has been shaped by many intellectual currents, spiritual influences, and charismatic personalities, my attempt to interpret the history constitutes only a part of the story. Here the analysis will focus on the spiritual and intellectual milieu of the founders. Influences which call for further study will be cited. My hope is that what follows may not only provide a more general introduction to Berea’s rich spiritual and intellectual heritage but also stimulate those who desire to move beyond these modest efforts.

The Revivalist Milieu

The Berea church and college community emerged as a part of a wave of revivals known as "the Second Great Awakening." The first expressions of this awakening in New England, Virginia, and Pennsylvania spilled over into Kentucky and Tennessee at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Presbyterian-sponsored revivals became more inclusive in the great camp meetings in Logan County, 1800, and at Cane Ridge in Bourbon County the next year. An estimated ten to twenty-five thousand gathered at Cane Ridge at a time when Kentucky's then-largest city, Lexington, had but 1,795 inhabitants.

The pioneer preachers who settled on the ridge at Berea beginning in 1855 were a product of a later manifestation of the Second Awakening, which first gained impetus in western New York under the influence of Charles G. Finney. It was Finney who provided the power and ideology for a "new measure" revivalism through his charismatic preaching and spectacular revival meetings in the remarkable decade, 1825-35, and later through his work as professor and president at Oberlin College, 1835-66. Finney's anti-slavery views won converts at Lane Seminary near Cincinnati, where students rebelled against the administration for suppressing their abolitionist activity and transferred their enrollment to the newly established Oberlin. From this time on, the formation of Berea's first leaders was intertwined with expressions of Finney revivalism. John G. Fee, Berea's founding preacher, attended Lane Seminary in 1842, by which time antislavery activity had been renewed at the school. There he was dramatically converted to abolitionism in a revival setting. Most of Berea's early teachers and presidents had matriculated at Oberlin. The Tappan brothers, philanthropists who were instrumental in establishing both Lane and Oberlin, launched the abolitionist American Missionary Association, which in turn provided needed support for Berea's leaders during the first critical years. The following brief accounts show in part how Charles Finney, Lane Seminary, Oberlin College, and the American Missionary Association had a formative impact on Berea's beginnings.

Second Great Awakening. The designation assumes an understanding of a prior Great Awakening, which was an American religious revival of the 18th century comparable in power, scope, and beliefs to the earlier movement of German Pietism and the evangelical awakening led by John Wesley. From 1797 on, the Second Great Awakening emerged in New England with student conversions and revivals at Yale in the first two decades of the 19th century. It continued in a succession of revivals by the means of camp meetings, Finney's ministry, missionary activity, philanthropic societies, religious journalism, and activity such as reported in the founding of Oberlin and Berea colleges.

New Measure Revivalism. Finney's innovations in conducting revivals, among which were greater tolerance for emotional responses, protracted or extended meetings, the anxious or mourner's bench, extemporaneous prayer, encouraging women to pray.

Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875) began his career as a successful young lawyer in central New York State. Though he was choir director of his Presbyterian church and under the influence of a devout wife, he called himself a nonbeliever. His conversion experience occurred during a special study of Mosaic law. As he later related, it was marked by three days of intense struggle culminating in a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost, which went through his body like waves of liquid love. Shortly after his conversion, he startled a potential client: "Deacon, I have a retainer from the Lord Jesus Christ to plead his cause and I cannot plead yours."

The six-foot-two Finney with hypnotic eyes was soon electrifying entire congregations with his preaching. Emotional responses and wide-spread conversions propelled Finney to national prominence. He was in demand as a "new measure" revivalist, introducing practices which were later to find their way to the edge of the mountains in Kentucky. He popularized the "protracted meeting" that continued for days or weeks and provided an "anxious bench" in front for those under "conviction" of sin. Other new measures included outdoor meetings, public prayers by women, and the encouragement of emotional "fallings" and "weepings" as valid signs of conversion.

Finney's pastor, George W. Gale, initiated educational instruction for youth awakened in the revivals. In 1827 he more formally established Oneida

New School Theology. One wing of the schism in Presbyterianism in the fourth decade of the 19th century. In contrast to "Old School" Presbyterianism, its more liberal view of polity favored cooperative work with Congregationalists and voluntary societies for missionary and educational work instead of church boards. It opposed slavery. It was less strict in interpreting traditional Calvinist doctrines such as predestination.

Election. One of the most controversial and debated doctrines in American church history. Theologically the doctrine points to the priority of God's initiative, grace, and activity in creation and history. More narrowly it has centered on the issue of double predestination, the belief that God's decree of election of some to salvation includes God's rejection of others.

Arminianism. Label given to theology associated with the Dutch revolt led by Jacob Arminius against extreme expressions of early 17th century Calvinism. Arminians emphasized human cooperation and responsibility in salvation over against doctrines of unconditional election and irresistible grace. Arminianism came to fruition in the ministry of John Wesley. Finney imbibed Arminian and Methodist accents without repudiating his basic Calvinist orientation.

Evangelicalism. From the Greek word meaning gospel or good news, the word connotes a variety of meanings. In the Reformation context the word is often used as a synonym of Protestant. In American church history the word has been associated with 19th century expressions of Biblical authority, revivalism, and espoused faithfulness to reformation faith of Luther and Calvin.

Enlightenment. A philosophy stretching from the early 17th to the beginning of the 19th century among English, Dutch, French, and German thinkers. It had a profound influence on many of America's founding fathers. The philosophy focused on a faith in reason, commended the ideals of freedom, liberty, justice, and was characterized by a zeal for the improvement of humanity and the doctrine of progress.

Institute, one of the first manual labor schools. From their savings from labor at five cents an hour, the Oneida students in 1830 demonstrated their Christian spirit by contributing two hundred dollars for the beginning of a Sabbath school in the valley of the Mississippi. Within the next decade Gale joined others in founding Knox Manual Labor College in western Illinois.

Finney espoused New School Presbyterianism, commonly labeled New School Theology. He repudiated interpretations of Calvinism which he judged discouraged human effort and created an "aristocracy of the elect." The New School Theology sought to maintain doctrines of divine sovereignty and election in greater tension with human freedom. Finney stressed the mutual cooperation between the human spirit and Holy Spirit in conversion.

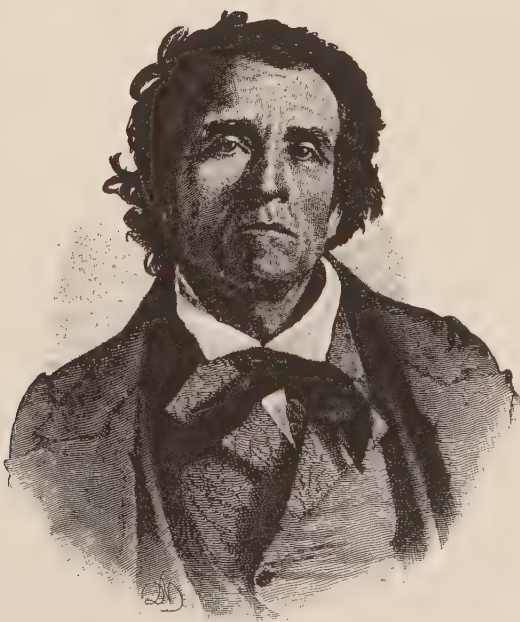
It has been maintained by some historians that this Arminianized Calvinism, often labeled evangelicalism, was also punctuated with Enlightenment motifs. A rational mood accompanied the growing tendency to regard conversion as a voluntary preference of the mind. But Finney professed a desire to reconcile faith and reason. He believed that God works through the best psychological laws of the mind. Consequently, he advocated that revivalists need to take advantage of methods which can be verified. This side of Finney revivalism spawned institutions dedicated to free speech and individual dignity. It was congenial to a philosophy of education which fostered liberal arts.

Although Finney was primarily an evangelist, his revivals produced an impulse for social reform which radically influenced society and contributed to the end of slavery. Converted sinners and revived Christians were charged to be concerned for the welfare of others. "Finney not only argued that revivals should produce reforms, but also that resistance to reform was one of the great 'hindrances of revival.'"⁴ In featuring the commonality of sin and the universality of grace, the revival message spawned a Christian egalitarianism which took shape in abolitionism and feminism. Old School Presbyterians opposed the lack of discipline and loss of denominational control of the multitude of benevolent societies which were set up for nearly every conceivable social need. This mood was different from Finney's nonsectarian bias which was later reflected in Berea's Union Church. It was there that Fee concretized Finney's wish: "Where I have authority, I exclude slaveholders from the [Lord's Supper], and I will as long as I live."⁵

Lane Seminary was established as a "manual labor with study" theological seminary in 1829. The Cincinnati locale was chosen to respond to the wide-spread need to train educated clergy for the Presbyterians in the West. Initially the Old and New Schools fought for control of the seminary. With the help of the radical New York philanthropist, Arthur Tappan, and Lyman Beecher's consent to become the new president, the New School advocates gained ascendancy. Though Beecher had first opposed what he regarded as Finney's excesses, the two men were reconciled when Beecher invited Finney to conduct a revival in his prestigious New York pulpit. Finney encouraged Beecher's move to the new seminary.



Charles G. Finney
(Oberlin College Library)



Theodore D. Weld

The New School emphasis on human ability and responsibility was expressed in Lyman Beecher's view that "a great battle is to be fought in the valley of the Mississippi."⁶ His inauguration was conducted in an atmosphere of millennial optimism which assumed that "the Seminary had been raised...for the purpose of saving the West, the nation, and the world."⁷ In comparison with Finney's preaching, Beecher's style of reform and revivalism was more moderate. On the slavery issue he was committed to gradual abolition and colonization, a movement to free the slaves by sending them back to Africa. Still Lane became one of the first institutions in America to admit blacks. The students, convinced of the health benefits of the manual labor program, were soon petitioning against the serving of that harmful and expensive drink, coffee.

It was into this setting that the most radical of the Finney evangelicals enrolled in the first class. Theodore Weld at one time or another was a crusader for temperance, manual labor, and the education of women. Weld entered Lane as a recent zealous convert to the antislavery cause. His activity with students precipitated what has been named "The Lane Rebellion," an event which has inspired a recent book, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America* (1980). By the spring of 1834 Weld had organized an eighteen-day debate which converted the students from their previous affirmation of colonization to an abolitionist stance. The later position came to be known as "immediatism" in calling for the immediate emancipation of all slaves. The students became active in the dissemination of pro-abolitionist views and began ministries to the Black community in Cincinnati.

The trustees correctly assessed the disapproval of their borderline southern community. They feared the spectre of mob violence. Beecher worked to establish a moderate antislavery organization which both abolitionists and colonizationists could support, but he failed to gain support from eastern abolitionists, including Arthur Tappan. In President Beecher's absence the board of trustees took action which insisted that "education must be completed before the young are fitted to engage in the collisions of active life."⁸ Students would be required to secure faculty approval before partaking in any activity. Against these restrictions most of the students rebelled. Professor John Morgan, the only faculty member to side with the students, was fired. By the end of the following year 95 of the 103 students had left or not returned. A total of seventy-five could lay claim to being "Lane rebels."⁹

It was during 1834, the year of the Lane debates, that John Gregg Fee began studies at Augusta College, the first Methodist College in the United States. Added to his Presbyterian background this training prepared him for the Arminianized Calvinism he was to encounter at Lane. The Lane debate has been characterized as a "revival in benevolence," one which called for repentance from the sin of slavery and conversion to abolitionism. Finney's theology of revivalism had been transposed to an antislavery setting. Though Fee's attendance at Lane occurred seven years after the rebellion, it is evident that the controlling board did not long squelch abolitionist revivalism. For it was precisely such a revivalism which Berea's founder experienced. He recounts his conversion at Lane:

Lord, if needs be, make me an Abolitionist. The surrender was complete. I arose from my knees with the consciousness that I had died to the world and accepted Christ in all the fullness of his character as I then understood Him.¹⁰

Oberlin College evolved out of the ministry of a pioneer missionary pastor who settled in Elyria, Ohio, in 1831. Finneyite John Jay Shipherd dreamed of a Christian colony and school whose chief aim would be “to glorify God and do good to men.”¹¹ He envisioned clearing the wilderness for an exemplary communal settlement and a manual labor institute to be followed by a female department and a seminary for the training of ministers. He named his utopia after a saintly pastor, John Frederic Oberlin (1740-1826). Because of his remarkable ministry in the remote Vosges mountains of northeast France, Oberlin’s name would have been one to inspire the later marriage of Berea with Appalachia. Inspired by the fervor and charitable fruits of German Lutheran Pietism and guided by the social and educational theories of the great thinkers of the French Enlightenment, the French pastor launched a campaign of social uplift which, during the fifty-nine years of his pastorate, led the impoverished mountain folk out of poverty and ignorance. He was the first to train and employ women as teachers.¹²

From its modest beginnings in 1833 the new Oberlin was financially weak and struggled to become a viable institution. Its emergent vitality came as a result of the Lane Rebellion. Out of Shipherd’s visit to the exiled students near Cincinnati and the financial support of the Tappans there arose a new radicalized Oberlin. Asa Mahan, the lone pastor in the Cincinnati area to support the rebels, was chosen president. Finney was called to become professor of theology. These appointments along with the arrival of the Lane rebels, including Professor Morgan, were on the condition that absolute freedom of speech be guaranteed on all reform issues and that blacks be admitted. As a result, Oberlin became the refuge for dismissed students from many institutions.

Finney’s focus on the conversion of sinners and sanctification of Christians was to remain central. The perfectionist emphasis was later dubbed the “Oberlin heresy.” President Mahan expressed the same through a Christian humanism which insisted that “the fundamental spirit and aim of Christianity is the correction of all abuses, a universal conformity to the laws of our existence as far as revealed to the mind, and a quenchless thirst for knowledge on all subjects pertaining to the duties and interest of humanity.”¹³ Oberlin

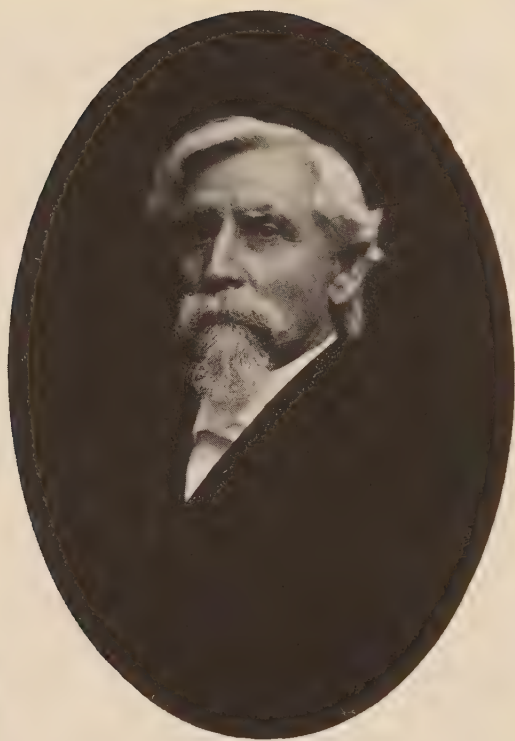
German Lutheran Pietism. A reformation movement pioneered in Germany by Spener Francke, 1675-1750 which emphasized reformation of life as well as doctrine, more charity in doctrinal disputes, a theology of experience, the doctrine of regeneration, the priesthood of all believers, works of charity, and better times for the church and the world.

was distinctly innovative. The college introduced music into education. It was the first coeducational college in the world. Reform movements abounded. The interest in physiological reform accompanying the manual labor program led Shipherd, Finney, and others to become disciples of Sylvester Graham, inventor of the "Graham Cracker" who was a leader in the health food movement of that time. There emerged a substantial peace movement. Following Theodore Weld's twenty lectures to shivering students sitting for hours on hard benches, over two hundred students were pledged to Oberlin's Anti-Slavery Society, professing the immediate emancipation of all slaves through moral persuasion.

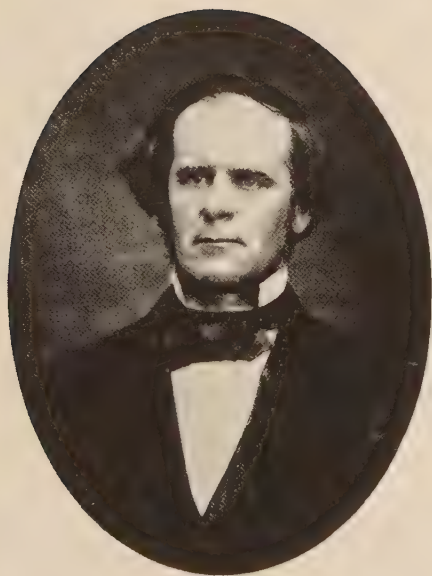
Berea's first president, Reverend E. Henry Fairchild, was a twenty-year-old freshman when the Lane rebels transferred to Oberlin. He knew the early rigors of the manual labor system. He was profoundly influenced by Theodore Weld's lectures and became one of the "seventy" commissioned to spread the ideas of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the Middle West. For a time he served on the executive committee of the Young Men's Moral Reform Society to promote chastity, to deplore "the destructive Prevalence of the vice of licentiousness" which was threatening the land, and to purpose to maintain moral purity among the students.¹⁴ Before moving to Berea in 1869, Fairchild served for sixteen years as the principal of the preparatory department of Oberlin. It seems that he was more eloquent than his more famous brother, who succeeded Finney as president of Oberlin from 1865-89. When a committee failed to secure a speaker and asked President James Fairchild to give the address, he replied: "No, I can't speak on short notice. Go to my brother Henry. He can make a speech any time on fifteen minutes' notice."¹⁵

John A.R. Rogers, who preceded Fairchild as Berea's educational architect, was also an Oberlinite. He guided the early school while Fee was giving greater energy in pastoring the church. From a long line of Puritans in New England, the Rogers family moved to Ohio in the vicinity of Oberlin where the young John received a large part of his collegiate and theological training. Teaching in the Oberlin Preparatory Department and the college itself, he was deeply imbued with the Oberlin spirit. While at Oberlin he contemplated the blessing it would be to establish a similar college in another place.¹⁶ He was first to serve, however, as pastor of the Congregational Church at Roseville, Illinois.

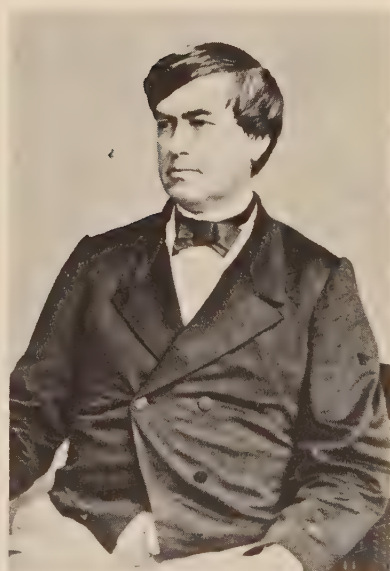
George Candee, Otis Waters, and William E. Lincoln, all of whom had matriculated at Oberlin, were among the earliest teachers at Berea. Lincoln, a native of England, had walked thirty-two miles every Sunday to hear Finney preach during a London crusade. After his conversion he enrolled at Oberlin. While there, Lincoln spent time in the Cleveland jail for his part in freeing a fugitive slave from officers of the law. Later he received his Berean call from Fee: "Lincoln, if you will teach in a school for us for six months, we on our part will build a house in which you may preach Anti-Slavery and holiness to your heart's content."¹⁷



John A.R. Rogers
A founder and first principal



President E. Henry Fairchild
Berea College's first president,
1869-89
(Oberlin College Library)



Gen. Cassius M. Clay
Influential early local supporter of Fee's
community

Berea was one of several colleges created to be “little Oberlins.” Because the founders suffered for their convictions, Berea was cited as the place where the ideals of the new awakening were being lived out. Due to the resultant notoriety, it was judged by many to remain more like Oberlin than Oberlin itself. At Berea it seemed that everything had to have the stamp of Oberlin on it. All of the presidents, except William B. Stewart and Willis Weatherford, have been a student or a teacher at Oberlin.

It would be a mistake to overlook the role of the American Missionary Association in Berea’s spiritual formation. Along with all kinds of charitable and reform societies and agencies, the revival inspired extensive missionary activity. By 1836 six different missionary societies had chapters on the Oberlin campus. As students became concerned about the government’s effort at relocation and other violations of treaties, the missionary impulse began to focus on the American Indian. And when antislavery sentiments grew in intensity, four societies merged in 1846 to form the American Missionary Association. Their fields of interest included home missions, missions among the Indians, missions for the Negroes in the West Indies, and missions in Africa. Their missionaries were required to be aggressively antislavery, to “talk it, preach it, pray it, vote it.”¹⁸ Though the Presbyterians had joined the Congregationalists in establishing outposts on the American frontier, the major support for this more radical association came from the Congregationalists.

The New York financiers behind Finney, Lane, and Oberlin were likewise instrumental in supporting the new agency. Arthur and Lewis Tappan, founders of Dun and Bradstreet, the Wall Street credit-rating firm, were men of deep evangelical faith. Lewis described the faith of his brother:

With a firm belief in the evangelical faith, he relied upon the mercy of God through the atoning sacrifice of the Savior, discarding all thoughts of his good deeds as meriting reward in another life, although he firmly believed that as evidences of piety they were essential.¹⁹

Lewis was to author a pamphlet entitled “Is It Right to Be Rich?” He answered in the negative. Consequently, they lived simply, plowing their wealth back into many causes. It is not surprising that John Fee named one of his children Tappan.

Neither is it startling to discover that the first president of the American Missionary Association was a Lane rebel and Oberlinite, Joseph H. Payne. The most influential member, George Whipple, principal and professor at Oberlin, served as corresponding secretary, editing the *American Missionary*. Up to 1860 over nine-tenths of all of the missionaries were former Oberlin students. Both of Berea’s founders, Fee and Rogers, were commissioned and supported by the AMA as rural ministers. Nearly all of the early teachers at Berea received all or part of their salaries from the Association. In the annual report of the AMA in 1869 three men and six women in Berea College were listed as receiving part of their salary from the Association. The *American Missionary* welcomed the letters of Fee, Rogers, and E. Henry

Fairchild. Later, large sums of money were received by the AMA to be held in trust for the college.

In 1883 however, the elderly Fee withdrew from the AMA because of a change in its organization. Originally the Association had been supported by several religious denominations, but when these bodies formed their own boards the AMA was left almost entirely in the hands of the Congregationalists. Antisectarian Fee, consequently, refused to continue accepting support that the AMA had given him for thirty-four years. He was adamant against any identity with denominations which he regarded as having been responsible for a sectarian spirit and the practice of caste in the household of faith.

The Larger Milieu

Finney revivalism evolved out of the matrix of American Puritanism. Nevertheless, the preachers and professors remained related to the same intellectual currents which continued to challenge the "old theologies." The enlightenment emphasis upon freedom and human ability jarred the door to make room for the Arminian deviations within Calvinism which we have observed in Finney's New School Theology. Many of the emphases of the evangelists represented counterpoints to German romanticism, which flourished as the initial stage of German idealism between 1775 and 1815 and influenced the "Transcendental Club" appearing in New England in 1836. The quest for Christian perfection can be viewed as a popular expression of a striving which on a more sophisticated level produced the transcendentalism of an Emerson and a Thoreau. The relationship between American evangelicalism, transcendental romanticism, and social reform has often been cited.²⁰

By suggesting points of contact between the revivalists and the transcendentalists, however, it may be possible to gain an introductory acquaintance with the larger intellectual milieu of Berea's founders. The intuitionism and mystical focus on the inner light of the romanticists knew both a sense of tension and of compatibility with an experience of direct relationship to God through Christ. The romantic notion of self-improvement offers interesting

Romanticism. Best understood as initial phase of German Idealism flourishing chiefly between 1775 and 1815. Its fundamental doctrine posits all reality as ultimately spiritual, derivative from a living spirit and so knowable by the human spirit. It reasserted the dignity of nature, the emotional factor in knowledge, and concepts of process and evolution.

Idealism. Philosophical word referring to any thought emphasizing mind, soul, spirit, life, and the expansion of such concepts. Since it is applied so broadly, the term is primarily useful in pointing to general directions of thought unless qualified, e.g. Platonic Idealism, Kantian Idealism, etc.

New England Transcendentalism. An outgrowth of the romantic movement which centered in the "Transcendental Club" organized at Boston in 1836. Opposing materialism, rationalism, Lockean empiricism, and Calvinism, it focused on the immanence of the divine, individualism, mysticism, reformism, and optimism regarding human nature.

comparisons with sanctified fruits of growing in grace and by grace. Both movements conceived reality as something growing and constantly renewing itself. The accent on divine immanence of the New England transcendentalists was similar to the revival goal to breathe life into the entire creation. The spirit of utopianism and doctrine of progress had religious counterparts in the post millennial optimism which set out to reform and convert the entire world. Both the Oberlin evangelicals and the Harvard intellectuals represented an emotional corrective to Enlightenment rationalism. And both endeavored to achieve a balance between the emotional and the rational. Both movements focused on human dignity in such a way as to foster a spirit of egalitarianism. Such proved subversive to rigid class divisions and agreeable to the Jeffersonian view of natural aristocracy based on virtue and talent rather than wealth or birth. The prevailing individualism and mysticism nurtured a spirit of anti-institutionalism which has been a part of the American experience.

Though it is necessary to acknowledge the kinship and in many instances dependence of the revival movement on the broader intellectual climate, it is important to remember that the progenitors of Berea were thoroughly evangelical and Biblical. It was not long, however, before the influences from New England were finding their way into the academic programs of the Oberlin circle. Because both movements idealized the free individual in search of God, others, and community, the institutions growing out of Finney revivalism joined their inclinations for mundane Yankee practicality to a strong commitment to Liberal Arts.²¹ Though comparative references to these intellectual currents will be made in presenting some major motifs of the founders, the primary focus will remain on their fundamental orientation in evangelical perfectionism. The more narrow focus constitutes one of the limitations of this study.

Another limitation involves the lack of sufficient research into the impact of the people of Appalachia on the spiritual formation of the college community. The Finney missionaries came to soil which was well prepared for their message. Fee and Rogers would not have survived before or after their exile without the support of local families such as the Renfros, Wrights, and Rawlings. It has been noted that Kentucky and Tennessee were a major locale of dramatic manifestations of the Great Awakening of which Finney's movement was but a later phase. Likewise, many natives had been influenced by Alexander Campbell, whose preaching made a great impression in Kentucky. In many ways Fee and Rogers represented the same evangelicalism for which Campbell and Barton W. Stone had been forced out of the Presbyterian church in the first decade of the century. The dialogue between Arminianism and Calvinism, which was integral to the Finney movement, had already been echoed through the "hollers" and religious debates of Appalachia. Fee's antisectarian bias was most congenial to the Campbellite em-

Perfectionism. A word which emerged in Arminian and Methodist circles to name an emphasis on holiness, sanctification, and the human ability to appropriate the power of God. The 19th century holiness movement featured Wesley's teaching concerning the possibility of a second experience of entire sanctification. Finney's position or "the Oberlin heresy" was more ambiguous concerning the dated second experience.

phasis on Christian unity. The Freewill Baptists, who in 1839 declared the cause of the slave to be the cause of God, point to the presence of strong antislavery views in the southern mountains before the arrival of Fee and Rogers. There were Appalachian people who strongly resisted conscription into the Confederate forces and who deserted in great numbers back to the mountains where they were periodically chased by Confederate troops and their womenfolk abused, their crops and livestock stolen or destroyed.²²

President William Frost was especially committed to the mountain work. He affectionately spoke of the people as “our contemporary ancestors,”²³ a designation which today is considered demeaning by some. But there is no question that mountain music, ballads, religion, and culture have enriched Berea’s spirit at the same time the college has served the region. Whether one traces the legacies of Finney revivalism in popular movements to the poor, such as the Salvation Army, or in social gospel movements inspired by Walter Rauschenbusch, many beliefs proved to be congenial to the spirit of Appalachia. Aspects of the Oberlin vision such as affirmations of the dignity of labor and Christian equality have survived better at Berea than in other institutions with similar roots. This may well be due to the influence of mountain culture and students on the subsequent life of the community.

Some Basic Motifs

The revival atmosphere shaped the nature of the early school. Fee’s choice of a name reflects the frequent reference by the Finneyites to the early community reported by Paul. The Bereans were “those who received the word with all readiness of mind and searched the scriptures daily” (Acts 17:11). This New Testament model was taken seriously at the new Berea institute. Such is documented in the first catalog for officers and students for the year 1866-67:

...there are Religious Exercises every morning at 8 and one half clock and all members of the school are required to attend. The exercises consist in reading and briefly expounding a portion of Scripture, singing and praying. The passage for each morning is announced the previous day, and all members of the Academic Department are expected to study the same.²⁴

We learn from the 1869-70 catalog that there was also required attendance for Sabbath Day School and church services on Sunday, a religious lecture each Tuesday, and evening prayers at the boarding places. Each class met for a compulsory Bible exercise once each week, the class prayer meeting being voluntary. In addition to all of these meetings there were frequent revivals, some lasting for several days.

In order to examine something of the content and purpose of the early Berea message, six basic motifs will be discussed. Each one will be presented by means of a brief sermon or homily sprinkled with phrases and seminal ideas from Finney, Fee, Rogers, the Fairchilds, and others. It is hoped that additional paraphrases and commentary represent fairly the thought of the founders. Suggestive comparisons will be made to other intellectual positions.

A New Heart

Historians of the period judge the nineteenth century as one in which external controls for order were breaking down. The call for conversion through moral persuasion and voluntary response highlighted the need for internal controls.²⁵ One of Finney's most popular sermons was entitled: "Sinners Bound to Change Their Own Hearts."²⁶ At Berea the preachers were similarly pleading for a new heart.

Homily

O you generation of sinners, how can you escape the damnation of Hell, you who are in slavery to your own self-gratification? The cause of all misery is Sin, which is the deep-seated preference for your own self-interest rather than for the glory of God and the interest of the kingdom. In one word, sin is selfishness. If you hate God, it is because God is opposed to your selfishness.

Repent, brothers and sisters. The text from Ezekiel puts it this way: "Make you a new heart and a new spirit, for why will you die" (18:31)? Say you see a woman about to walk over the edge of Indian Fort look-out because she is looking at the moon. You shout "Stop!" She stops. A tragic fall has been avoided. Some would give you all the credit and maintain she did nothing. But she did. She responded. We have the same freedom to respond to God's call. The apostle Peter did not tell the multitude at Pentecost to pray and wait for God to change their hearts. Rather, he commanded them to repent.

What if God would command us to fly, tell us we will go to hell if we do not and refuse to give us wings or the ability to make some kind of flying machine? We do not have that kind of God. There is the strongest possible evidence that you are able to change your hearts with the help of the Holy Spirit. The world is divided into two great political parties. The differences between them is that one party chooses Satan. The other party chooses God. Choose this day whom you will serve.

In the last century Jonathan Edwards said that God wants to give us a revival but he will do it in his own good time. I prefer the way Charles Finney said it. God wants to give us a revival and if we do not have one, it is our own fault.

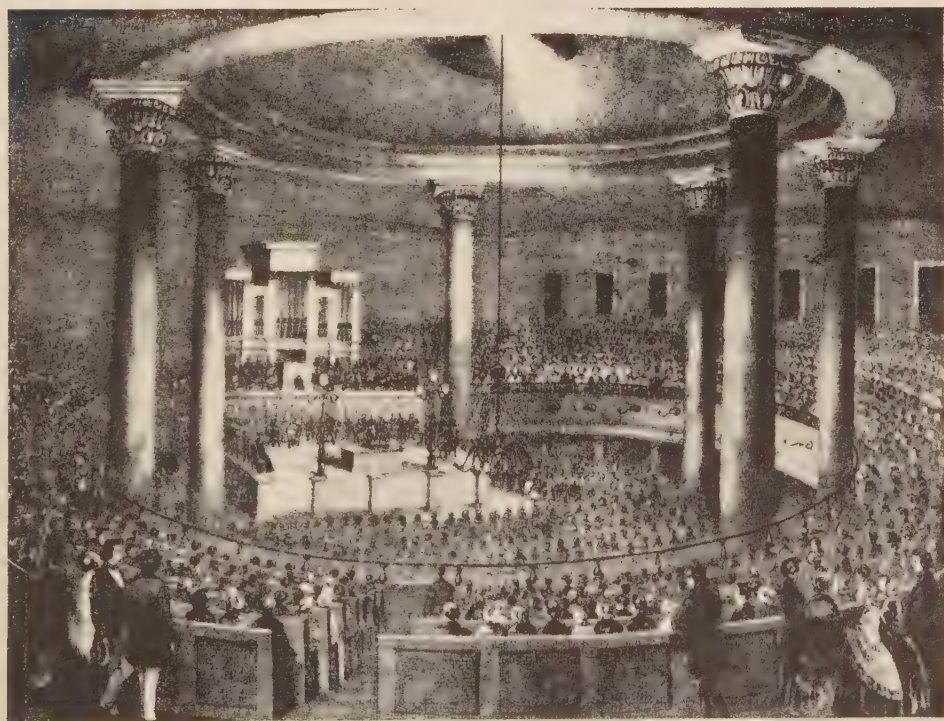
In messages like this, it is obvious that there was an Arminian or Methodist teaching that we can accept or reject God's saving work. Some Calvinists were regarded to be inconsistent in depicting God as one who requires us to do something we cannot do. The Indian Fort story represents an attempt to simulate Finney's famous Niagara Falls illustration. A man is standing dangerously on the banks of the Falls. The role of the revivalist is to speak the word, in this case "stop," to the one who is about to plunge to death. The human agent hears and turns around. God's providential love is working through both. Though much credit was given to the work of the Spirit, some historians judge the strong emphasis on free will to have much in common with the self-reliant intuitionism of the American transcendental school.

Nevertheless, the revivalists retained a strong dose of Calvinism. If sin is selfishness, they preached, it is sinful to be preoccupied with your own salvation. Finney put it this way in one of his lectures: "When one makes his own salvation the end of prayer, of almsgiving, and of all his religious duties, this is only selfishness and not true religion...."²⁷ Likewise, love was not merely a feeling but rather a conscious impartial choice of the highest well-being of God and the universe. When the Bereans gathered to write the first constitution for the school, J.A.R. Rogers posed the question: "Is it to be wholly for God, and not for our own glory?"²⁸

In spite of his desire to maintain the paradox between individual free will and the unmerited gift of divine grace, Finney is often accused of shifting the focus of conversion to human activity. It is charged that he was influenced by the prevailing rationalism of his day. Rather than salvation coming from God it came from the skill of the preacher in utilizing the best psychological laws of persuasion. Those who defend the movement, however, feel that the preachers were but maintaining the paradox which is basic to the Biblical message.

Whatever the theological complexities, the revivals at Berea were an expression of a strong desire to establish a Christian school. Such is affirmed in a letter from Rogers to President Frost in 1902:

Anyone who should present the great object of the school, to do a patriotic and enlightening work, would present *a* truth but not *the* truth. *The* object was to make men more Christian and should have been far more than it was.²⁹



The impressive Broadway Tabernacle was built in New York for Charles Finney's pastorate in 1834.

Perfectionism: The Quest for Holiness

Rogers' goal for the school mirrored his own experience. In an earlier letter to Frost he had related:

I should like to go to a spot on Bear Knob...and to see a place on Lee's Knob, where hiding out one Sunday afternoon during the war I had a revelation of Divine forgiveness which ought to have made me a better man.³⁰

At Berea a passionate zeal for the conversion of sinners was combined with a strong emphasis on the sanctification of believers.

Homily

Sisters and brothers, the God who is good enough to forgive us is powerful enough to change us. If we are truly thankful for God's grace we cannot help but grow in grace. We can easily become discouraged in viewing the basic selfishness of others and ourselves. But we can remain optimistic concerning what God can do with us and through us. Remember the Biblical admonition that without holiness "no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14 K.J.V.)

But you may protest. "Me, perfect, who do you think I am?" But sister and brother, if you believe that Christ gave you pardon for your sins, believe that Christ can give you complete victory over temptation. Christ, if you let Him, will sanctify you in this life. You cannot make yourself holy, but you can be made holy. Eternal life begins now; we need not wait for heaven.

But you may ask, what is sanctification, holiness and perfectionism? What does all of this talk really mean? Simply, it can all be summed up in two words, perfect love. Or in the two greatest commandments: "Thou shall love God with all thy heart, all thy mind, and all thy soul." And the second is not all that different: "Thou shall love your neighbor as yourself." This means above all following in the steps of our Master. Our own John Fee put it this way at the inauguration of President Fairchild: "We take the Lord Jesus as the great teacher and example. This is the foundation of all moral excellence...."³¹

When the Fairchild brothers applied to the Huron Presbytery for licenses to preach, the body refused to examine them because they would not first renounce their belief in the doctrines taught at Oberlin. The so-called "Oberlin heresy" encompassed a greater belief in human ability and perfectionism. The doctrine of perfection was defined in different ways. Mahan preferred perfect love. Finney most often used sanctification. It was commonly interpreted as love of God and love of others. The doctrine implied that humanity is capable with Christ's help of achieving the highest aims of an individual and of society. For personal growth the Oberlin faculty stressed the virtues of frugality; industry; self-denial; disciplined thinking; and diligent study, especially of the Bible. In social teachings the doctrine was spelled out in terms of a strong affirmation of equal human rights, deep sympathy with the

oppressed of every color, and the cultivation of such a moral stance as the most important goal of education.³² Such virtues of personal growth and social teachings became a vital part of Berea.

Theologically, James H. Fairchild, brother of Berea's first president, summarized the belief in the doctrine of perfection as "The faith which justifies, works by love, purifies the heart and overcomes the world."³³ At Berea John Fee preached a sermon as late as 1898 entitled, "Sinless Life—Possible." Appropriating the text, "He shall save his people from their sins" (Mt. 1:21), Fee responded affirmatively to his topic. He maintained that there is no fellowship with God without holiness. And holiness is possible not alone through substituted righteousness but by our own choice.³⁴

Though there were many statements which affirmed that entire sanctification in this life is attainable, one does not find sufficient evidence to support the more static views of perfection which came out of the same revival milieu. The teaching was akin to John Wesley's dynamic interpretation which assumed that one could quickly move in and out of a state of perfect love. The emphasis was more on the possibility of growing in love than on attaining a state of perfection. Finney warned that no matter how perfect a creature might be, it is finite, and when brought into the light of the attributes of infinite virtue, it will appear as rottenness. During one of the revivals at Oberlin the students were anxious to receive "the second blessing," the state of entire sanctification. The faculty met and offered this advice: "Press on for the attainment of entire sanctification." But show it then by your "works rather than your declarations."³⁵ J.A.R. Rogers in his reflections on the beginning of the college at Berea seems to go out of his way to deny that he and his colleagues ever achieved a state of perfection:

The dominating thing in the school, and that which really produced its life, however it was manifested, was trust in God. It was far enough from being perfect, and was not so clearly informed by a clear knowledge of Christ and His love and purposes as it should have been, but though it was defective in many ways, it was genuine.³⁶

It should be repeated that perfectionism was a sociological phenomenon not limited to any isolated movement. The transcendentalists had conjoined a belief in the divinity of human nature to a conviction that an individual can improve into perfection. Similar to the revivalists, they combined a flavor of mysticism with an activist concern for society. For the transcendentalists, growth was the result of self-improvement. For the revivalists, it was more the work of enabling grace. Whether this represents a fundamental difference or one of mere semantics will continue to constitute a debate among intellectual historians.

The Whole Man

Homily

If we are really to grow in grace, brothers and sisters, we will surrender our souls, our minds, and our bodies to God. The problem is that we sometimes give too much value to just one of these. For example, emotions may be good to bring a brother to see his condition and bring him

forward to sit in the anxious seat. However, his emotions will not save him. You are misled if you are working up your emotions in an effort to know God. Neither is it wise to exalt reason above revelation. Swallow a bit while I say these names. However, I do want to share in this college setting that those transcendental romanticists who reacted against the sterile rationalism of those Harvard Unitarians were right. They were attempting to maintain a proper balance between reason and emotions.

We do know how the mind influences the body, and likewise how the body modifies the state of the mind. Exercise helps your studies. Look back to Socrates and Aristotle, great philosophers who walked as they taught. John Greenleaf Whittier in one of his poems from his songs of labor advised: "Life is wiseth spent where the strong working hand makes strong the working brain." Fancy gymnastic exercises are for the idle rich. If we give the kind of dignity we should to manual labor, we will enjoy the benefits of exercise while doing something productive at the same time. You are in a great program. Listen to some of the early testimonies. Theodore Weld is referring to his fellow students in the manual labor program at Oneida Institute in New York State:

"...they loved it with all their hearts. They counted it a privilege to give their testimony in its favor, and they did.... Their approval of the system rose into an intelligent and abiding passion; and it is no marvel that it was so; for they had within them a permanent, living consciousness of its benefits and blessings. They felt it in their bodies, knitting their muscles into firmness, compacting their limbs, consolidating their framework, and thrilling with fresh life the very marrow of their bones. They felt it in their minds, giving tenacity to memory, stability to judgment, acuteness to discrimination, multiform analogy to the suggestive faculty and daylight to perception. They felt it in their hearts, renovating every susceptibility, and swelling the tide of emotion. But there is another side to the picture.

"It is true, with a few, a very few...the system is unpopular, and so were languages and mathematics, philosophy and rhetoric, and every thing else in the daily routine, save the bed and the dinner table. Such students were snails in the field, drones in the workshop, dumb in debate, pigmies in the recitation room, and cyphers at the black board."³⁷

If exercise contributes to keenness of mind, the people who need it most are the professors. Right. This is the reason we advocate the manual labor program for them as well.

Shipherd's first proposal for Oberlin Institute expressed his holistic philosophy. "The system of education in this Institute will provide for the body and heart as well as the intellect, for it aims at the best education of the whole man."³⁸ All issues touching the human spirit and welfare had significance—alcohol, coffee, starch, gambling, exercises, work, economics, and life style. Fee, who defined conversion as the committal to God of soul, body, and spirit, translated the same into his educational philosophy for Berea. "We desire in this school," he explained, "to discipline minds, not



Charles Finney's tent, a gift from admirers when he moved to Oberlin College in 1835, held 3000 and was used for revivals and early commencements. A smaller tent was used at Berea's early commencements.
(Oberlin College Library)

merely to make students acquainted with science but also to educate their hearts and develop their consciences."³⁹

Of the early founders at Berea it was John Hanson who made the case for the role of physical education. He criticized many colleges who "send out strong minds and strong purposes in weak bodies...." His desire to join "good physical development" with "good mental development" was prophetic of the future.⁴⁰ Though Berea might easily have become a trade school, the emphasis on manual labor and exercise was kept in tension with a strong concern for quality liberal arts education. Such a philosophy was akin to John Stuart Mill's St. Andrew address in calling for an esthetic education of "whole men."

Fee's desire that Berea become an anti-rum community reflected the strength of the temperance emphasis in the revivals. Historically, the temperance movement was the parent of the physiological reform movement. If it is wrong to drink liquors harmful to the body, it followed that gluttony was likewise sinful along with wearing tight clothing, and neglecting exercise, bathing, or proper ventilation. The health fad was promoted by the American Physiological Society, which was founded in 1837. A "Female Society of Oberlin for the Promotion of Health" was active in the early years. A diet without wine, cider, beer, tobacco, tea, coffee, pastries, or meats was recommended. Oberlin's Old Testament professor, John Cowles, complained that the reform had gone too far. "But you," he accused the trustees, "have simplified simplicity, and reformed reformation, till not only our health and lives are in danger but some have already been physiologically reformed into eternity."⁴¹

Manual labor contributed to the development of the whole man and became a significant part of the Berea program. The manual labor idea originated at Phillipp von Fellenberg's academy in Switzerland and was promoted in the United States by Channing Woodbridge. George Gale's Oneida Institute, however, was to become the prototype for most of the schools coming out of the revival movement. Before zealously leading the abolitionist crusade at Lane, Theodore Weld in 1832 travelled over 4500 miles, nearly 2000 on horseback or afoot to deliver over 200 lectures on manual labor, temperance, and female education. As general agent for the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions his burden was to speak on the salutary influence of regular exercise. The manual labor program was popular because (1) it benefitted health; (2) it enabled students to earn their own education; (3) it was a symbol of the end of class distinctions; (4) it promoted habits of industry, independence of character, and originality.⁴² The idea fitted the American environment where there was plenty of land and lumber but little money. It was also congenial to the pioneer spirit, which imbibed the Protestant work ethic, Benjamin Franklin's sense of practicality, Ralph Waldo Emerson's emphasis on self-reliance, and John G. Whittier's songs of labor.

Millennialism

The passion for physiological reforms in developing the whole person was but a part of a larger picture. The nineteenth century evangelicals felt they were living in the dawn of the millennial age. Through the preaching of the gospel the whole world would one day be composed of Christians living together in love. Millennial or post-millennial teaching emphasized the power of God's grace in effecting a progressive improvement of life. Pre-Civil War evangelicals expected to live on this earth in the millennium. Such optimism constituted an evangelical counterpart to transcendental utopianism and the idea of progress. It helped pave the way for the social Darwinianism which followed.

John Keep, one of the early founders and financial agents of Oberlin, shared his enthusiasm in a letter to his wife: "Oberlin must be the burning and the shining light which shall lead on to the Millennium."⁴³ In relating the success of Berea College to the work of the kingdom, John Fee appropriated the analogy of a stone cut from the mountains which "is to roll on until it shall destroy all other kingdoms, and fill the whole earth with its glory."⁴⁴ President Fairchild shared the same optimistic enthusiasm in defining educational goals at Berea: "We feel sure also that freedom, education and equality will tend not to promote, but to cure all social evils."⁴⁵ The revivalists were engaged in two battles, one to convert the world to Christ and the church, the other to convert the church to reform.

Millennialism. Belief in a coming ideal society symbolized by one thousand years.

Social Darwinianism. Refers to the appropriation of Darwin's biological theory of evolution by sociologists, ethicists, and philosophers in such a way as to support the idea that society is evolving in a desirable direction.

Reformism was rooted in Finney's teachings about benevolence. The sum of the whole law which is love was defined by Finney as benevolence or good will. Benevolence consists in choosing the highest good for all being as an end for its own sake. Sin or selfishness, on the contrary, is the desire to gratify self. In the collection of Finney's writings entitled *Love is Not a Special Way of Feeling*, it becomes apparent that a person can have great emotional experiences and still lack benevolence. Finney claims it is "possible for intellect and feelings to be impressed by God's excellence and yet not do God's will."⁴⁶ Oberlin's James Fairchild defined this same ethical stance as "intentional utilitarianism." He named an action "shrewdness" rather than "benevolence" when the motivation was derived from the satisfaction which the endeavor might bring. Asa Mahan, Oberlin's first president, maintained that it is "man's duty to try to create a perfectly ethical and righteous social order."⁴⁷ Generally, the strong concern for a style of piety which included benevolence sought expression in concrete activity. In turn this fostered the need for greater holiness which then required more outlets for expression. Students were taught to take a deep interest in the moral enterprises of their day, including all kinds of societies—temperance, non-resistance, Seaman's Friend, a society for poor retired preachers, and many others.

Directed at first toward reforms such as temperance and Sabbath observance, moral suasion became centered more around concerns for peace and abolitionism. The Oberlin Non-Resistance Society was organized in 1840. It soon became a part of a growing pacifist movement championed in secular circles by William Lloyd Garrison and in the evangelical movement by the blacksmith, Elihu Burritt. Out of Worcester, Massachusetts, Burritt published his pacifist magazine, *Christian Citizen*. For the heading of each issue he used a cut showing a lion and lamb lying down together with the motto: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." Following the methods of the temperance reformers, Burritt drew up a pledge to be signed by opponents of war. The pledge which declared "all war to be inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity" committed the signers "never to enlist or enter any army or navy or to yield any voluntary support or sanction to...any war...and to employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of war...."⁴⁸ At Oberlin Professor Walker secured over 700 signatures.

Amos Dresser, one of the Lane Rebels and later missionary to Jamaica, returned to the Oberlin vicinity to become a peace leader. He published a book, *Bible Against War*, in 1849, partly to refute Finney, who refused to grant that all war is sin. Since selfishness alone is sin, he reasoned, all wars would need to be demonstrated to be selfish, an assertion which could not be proved. In 1843 those who shared the views of Mahan and Finney organized the Oberlin Peace Society. Though refusing to renounce all violence, the Society strongly opposed the war against Mexico, declaring that "every blow struck on the part of this nation will be an act of robbery and murder."⁴⁹ Pacifist sentiment waned with the coming of the Civil War. There arose a growing consensus concerning the justice of the Northern cause. It is difficult to find doctrinaire pacifist statements from Berea's founders. They consciously adopted an unarmed nonresistant posture, however, in facing

the violence of their opponents. Fee explained his nonviolent reaction to brutality as being consistent with Christ's teachings.⁵⁰

At Berea the reform impulse took shape primarily in their zealous anti-slavery views. Out of his interesting heritage of a grandmother who was a Pennsylvania Quaker and a father who owned thirteen slaves in northern Kentucky, the thirty-one year old Fee wrote an antislavery manual as a southerner for southerners. In a sense abolitionism was the mortar on the doctrine of Christian perfection. The call for immediate emancipation was the positive consequence of the idea of the free responsible individual immediately renouncing sin. In this vein the following homily represents Fee preaching the gospel as good news of salvation from all sin, including the sin of slaveholding.

Homily

We need to name it for what it is. Slavery is sin. We are not ashamed of our hatred for this sin. We must have compassion for the victims. Silence in order not to offend the slaveholder is treason to God. The answer will not come through congress, by advocating rebellion on the part of the slaves, by some gradualist approach such as eventually sending all of the slaves back to Africa. The answer lies in moral suasion; in preaching the good news that the gospel is salvation from the sin of slaveholding; in calling for repentance, not with carnal weapons, but with the word of the Spirit. Nothing will make the slaveholder unclench his grasp but the horrors of hellfire. We must preach repentance to the "men-stealers," the name for slaveholders in 1 Timothy 1:9-11. Since they are listed alongside whoremongers and liars, they should not be allowed to commune in the church of Jesus Christ.

Some evangelicals were so burned out by reform activity that they were ripe for the premillennial movement which was emerging during this same period. One of its leading founders, William Miller, announced in 1836 that the world was to come to an end in 1843. He was nurtured in New York state near Shipherd, the early founder of Oberlin. With the growing strength of premillennialism, the brand of millennialism associated with Finney was identified by naming it postmillennialism. Postmillennial teaching advocates reform activity as a way to prepare for the return of Christ. Premillennial teaching cites the manifestations of evil foretold in Biblical prophecies to document their belief that the world will get worse before Jesus returns a second time to inaugurate a perfect reign of a thousand years. In the colleges, debates were held to argue whether the world was getting better or worse. Whereas Finney had featured God's grace and power to transform sinful persons and society, the premillennialists preached the good news about watching and preparing to be rescued from the sinful world in rapture.

It is interesting to note that the pessimism of the Old School Theology frequently coalesced with manifestations of premillennialism. Similarly the mood which had held an optimistic millennialism tended to be receptive to the social gospel message or secular humanism. At some institutions such as Wheaton in Illinois there later occurred a sharp break between the post-millennial stance of the Finneyite founders and subsequent premillennialism.

Impartial Love

Homily

From the good Book and the constitution of our land, we know that God is no respecter of persons. God laid a special burden on our founder, John Fee, to preach this truth. After his conversion at Lane Seminary, Fee was certain that he had to return to Kentucky and preach the doctrine of impartial love. Simply, this message calls us to participate in the benevolence of God which knows neither bond or free, black or white, male or female.

God is no respecter of persons. At Berea we have paid a price for the attempt to live this truth. You know something of the sufferings of our founders because of their antislavery beliefs. They were exiled by sixty-two "respectable" armed men whose leader saved Brother Rogers from great harm by saying: "Not today, boys. If he is not gone in ten days, come back." When the first Negroes were admitted, twenty-seven students walked out. Even many of those who opposed the institution of slavery were nevertheless "caste" people, opposing the amalgamation of the races. Boldly, Fee named the separation of races in education "unnatural, unjust, barbaric, unpatriotic, and unchristian."⁵¹ While teaching at Camp Nelson, he was seated at a table with a black woman teacher when someone asked for her to be removed. Fee protested: "I will suffer my right arm torn from my body before I will remove this young woman...She is Christ's representative. What I do to her I do to him."⁵²

God is no respecter of persons. At Berea we take some pride in being one of the first institutions in the south and the nation to admit women. Again our founder maintained that "women...should be man's intellectual, social, and moral equal."⁵³ Berea College is no respecter of persons. Our manual labor program teaches us that we should not measure the worth of persons on the basis of their occupations. The dignity of each person means that we should be willing to listen to each one, even when we disagree. We stand firmly on Oberlin's pledge from the beginning: "Free discussion being a duty is consequently a right." Our love like God's love should be impartial. For God is no respecter of persons.

Fee's doctrine of impartial love may have been a mountain preacher's version of Finney's more academic teaching of disinterested benevolence. We have noted that Finney used "disinterested" to emphasize that moral behavior should grow out of love of holiness rather than from selfish considerations. The word also denoted universality. Benevolence consists of an impartial choice of the good of all being.

In spite of expressing this doctrine in a strong antislavery message and by his opposition to "civil mockery" which extended liberty to white men only, Finney felt it was wrong to insist on what he termed the amalgamation of the races. The sin of slavery did not include racial prejudice, which he judged a matter of "constitutional" (personal) taste.⁵⁴ In this he was close to Lyman Beecher, who could support the abolitionist call to end slavery but not the belief that it is possible for blacks and whites to live together in an open



Students and faculty, men and women joined together at Berea for manual labor, in maintenance and gardening chores. Of many "manual labor" institutions in the 19th century, only Berea still maintains a work requirement.

society. Fee's attitude resembled the more radical witness of Theodore Weld, who strived to mingle and live with blacks on equal terms. Fee's greater egalitarianism may have come from the deep personal relationships he had known with some of his father's slaves. In part, it may have been due to the fact that his ministry coincided with the second radicalized generation of the movement.

To his antipathy of slavery Fee joined an advocacy for a racially integrated school. Consequently, he named "caste" as well as "slavery" a major sin. His antislavery manual, *Sinfulness of Slaveholding*, presents a strong case to support both concerns. He appropriated views of natural and inalienable rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence. After quoting Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Henry Clay, John Wesley, and others against slavery, he turned to the Bible. One of his favorite Old Testament texts was a Jubilee verse calling the people to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto the inhabitants thereof...." (Lev. 25:10). Moving from Exodus themes of deliverance from bondage, Fee focused on universalist texts in the New Testament — the golden rule, "God hath made of one blood..." (Acts 17:17), "God is no respecter of persons..." (Acts

10:34). He stressed that the principles of the Bible—justice, mercy and impartial love—are opposed to slavery and that isolated passages which appear to be different must be interpreted to harmonize with these fundamental principles.⁵⁵

It was but a few years after he had become known through his antislavery writings that Fee wrote to the *American Missionary* about the need for a higher school, “which would be to Kentucky what Oberlin is to Ohio, Anti-slavery, Anti-caste, Anti-secret societies, Anti-rum, Anti-sin...”⁵⁶ We have observed how Fee moved beyond Finney in a view of equality which added anticaste to antislavery as a part of his major concerns. The same dynamic was probably responsible for the negative plank of his platform which referred to secret societies. It may seem strange how this caring pastor who featured the teaching of impartial love could propose a standard of church membership which excluded those who had slaves, drank alcoholic beverages, and participated in secret societies. In a pamphlet on Freemasonry, Fee criticizes lodges as “based in selfishness,” “dangerous to the cause of civil liberty and just government,” and excluding “meritorious persons on account of color.”⁵⁷ His experience in his time led him to feel that such practices violated the teaching of impartial love.

There is yet another negative which came forth in views about the nature of the church. Fee was “Anti-sectism,” or antisectarian. He later launched a periodical, *The Reunion*, devoted to the visible oneness of the Church of Christ. The editorials did not represent those who desired to unify all denominations in a large central organization. Rather his proposals called for the visible union of Christians in each locality for the purpose of the mission of the church. In his requirements for church membership Fee’s orthodoxy is revealed as centering on ethical behavior more than creedal formulations. At the same time all must be committed to a common faith in Jesus Christ. Unity was to come from centering on a Person rather than on correct opinions and sectarian views.⁵⁸

This insistence on inclusiveness and equality was a part of the heritage from Finney revivalism. It was logical that it became related to the nineteenth century movement for women’s rights.⁵⁹ “Participation by females in promiscuous prayer,” had been one of the scandalous features of “new measure” revivalism. Oberlin became renowned for being the first co-educational college. However, there are indications that women were not to be given equal educational opportunities in preparing for the professions. In the minds of many at Oberlin and Berea the primary reason for educating women was to prepare them more effectively to serve their husbands and to be good “mothers of the race.” Millennial optimists reasoned that by improving the knowledge of the teachers of the race, humanity would quickly be elevated.

At Oberlin a more radical position was soon taken by a small group of feminists who became known as “raving Bloomerites.” They included Lucy Stone, who was preparing to be a public lecturer in spite of the rule that women could not speak publicly at Oberlin; Antoinette Brown, who overcame the opposition at Oberlin to become the first ordained Protestant woman in America; and Angelina Grimke, who married the strong feminist

supporter, Theodore Weld. The absence of radical feminism at early Berea may be due, in part, to the more conservative environs; in part, to the greater number of women staff and teachers; and in part, to the zealous egalitarianism of the founders.

If impartial love inspires an attempt to integrate a wide variety of people, it follows that there must be openness to a wide variety of convictions. And if faculty and students are encouraged to become active in unpopular causes, it follows that free speech must be defended. Such was the logic which evolved in evangelical circles. At Lane the faculty had alienated the students by forbidding all discussion of the slavery issue. The rebels demanded freedom of speech as a condition of their enrollment at Oberlin. President Asa Mahan, who had come to Oberlin as a pastoral supporter of the rebels, kept the promise by practicing the hearing of all sides of controversial issues. He feared lest the enthusiasm of the revival movement become fanaticism. "Open-mindedness," Mahan maintained, "must be associated with enthusiasm for the truth."⁶⁰ Such a stance strengthened the liberal arts tradition in the radical evangelical institutions. In some places the spirit of openness led to a style of pluralism which was subversive to a strong Christian commitment.

Higher Law

In the context of the antislavery and anticaste movements a debate emerged around what came to be called the higher law principle. The issue came out of struggles concerning proper strategies of social change. The revivalists were moderate compared to the "come-outism" and near anarchism of New England radicals. William Lloyd Garrison damned the American constitution as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell" and the churches as "hopelessly political" because they tolerated slavery. The mood at Oberlin and Berea was to lift up the constitution as a great antislavery document and hold out hope in the reformability of the churches, in Fee's case the founding of new antislavery congregations.

The more moderate stance stemmed from Finney's optimism concerning the strategy of conversion through moral persuasion. If the hearts of sinners are really converted, reforms will follow. When Garrison spoke at Oberlin, there was generally a cool reception. Some of his spirit did rub off. The women were more receptive to his message because of his advocacy of complete sexual equality. Theodore Weld began to press the direct application of the Christian spirit against slavery. When he recruited students to conduct antislavery meetings, Finney was threatened. Finney feared that the abolitionists were willing to sacrifice revivalism and their evangelical religion for the cause of amalgamation. They came closer together when Weld agreed on the distinction between fundamental and secondary principles. From the other side some of the radicals moved from the sole espousal of antislavery to the "whole gospel" of evangelicalism in which antislavery was an essential part.⁶¹ John Fee of Berea seemed to begin with the latter assumption. For him the antislavery message was inseparable from but not the whole gospel.

A growing consensus among historians is currently naming the Finney movement as more important than has often been recognized in the story of abolitionism. His converts were early supporters of the American Colonization Society, which had been founded in 1816. They then identified with the abolitionist cause, moving rather quickly from gradualism to an "immediatism," which preached zealously for the immediate end of slavery. From what they named moral suasion, they came to participate in strategies of direct action. An economic boycott of the products of slave labor was established at Oberlin in 1836. The mood was greatly radicalized with the passing of the "Black Act" of 1839 and the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. These laws and codes were devised to apprehend runaway slaves and return them to captivity. Among other stipulations the code refused jury trial to fugitives and decreed penalties for those who aided the fugitives.

The Oberlin community became aroused. They flouted the laws and became a vital link in the Underground Railroad. One of the most celebrated incidents occurred in 1858 when John Price, a fugitive slave, sought refuge. That summer four armed southerners recaptured Price and held him in nearby Wellington. The citizens of Oberlin turned out in mass to storm the hotel. William Lincoln, Berea's early teacher, was one of the students recruited to rescue the slave. He climbed a ladder and broke in a window. The mission accomplished, Price was hid in the home of conservative J.H. Fairchild because outsiders would regard his home the most unlikely place of all. Lincoln was arrested and taken with other prisoners to the Cleveland jail. Fifty refused bail, published a paper, and conducted services with their visitors. Money and expressions of support poured in from many countries.

At a large antislavery convention in Columbus the next year the cry was: "No communion with slaveholders and no obedience to the Fugitive Slave Laws." The convention was called a "higher law" convention, insisting that no man-made law was binding if it conflicted with God-made law.⁶² Finney refused to call the act a law, naming it rather a bill. He maintained that it violated the constitution of the nation, the state, the natural law, and law of God. Therefore it was not obligatory upon the citizens.

In New England radicals such as Garrison and Thoreau and more moderate voices such as George William Curtis and Theodore Parker were making the same case for civil disobedience. As was true at Oberlin, they preferred to define it as obedience to a higher law. Parker argued in a way which was congenial to the mood of the Oberlin evangelicals. "Moreover, the person who is willing to break a law in extreme cases is the very person who can be counted upon to be the strongest upholder of law in general and unlikely to break it for selfish reasons."⁶³

By the time Fee settled on the ridge, the evangelical abolitionist movement was more radical. At the 1856 Fourth of July celebration at Slate Lick Springs, John Fee and Cassius Clay entertained the gathering through a sharp exchange. Though Clay was antislavery and had donated the land for Fee's new school, compared with Fee the position of this aristocrat was more moderate. After Fee announced he would not obey the Fugitive Slave Law, Clay rose to label "Mr. Fee's position as revolutionary, insurrectionary and dangerous." Many left the meetings saying that Fee was religiously right but

Clay was politically right.⁶⁴ The following homily represents an attempt to conjecture what Fee might have said to give a further rationale for his position when he arrived home. It does contain several direct quotes from his writings.⁶⁵

Homily

Fellow Bereans, the rights which God and nature have established such as life and liberty are eternal. No human legislature has the power to abridge or destroy them. When human laws or governments attempt to take away the natural rights, they violate the very end for which governments are formed.

Mr. Clay took the stand to say that as long as a human law is on the statute books it must be obeyed, right or wrong. Will you obey the Fugitive Slave Law and be slaves or will you rather obey the law of Jehovah and be free men? Our ultimate allegiance belongs to God alone. For governments and laws must be subordinate to the Bible, the book which commands us to obey God rather than men.

Mr. Clay called me seditious and dangerous. I maintain that higher law advocates are the true patriots. If you love your child, you will oppose him when he does wrong. If you really love your nation, you will oppose it as a way to lead it to a higher good.

The great end of the gospel is the unification of all humanity. Any law which prefers one race of people over another is contrary to the gospel. And any system that makes the interest of the people of one nation to be preferred rather than those of another is out of harmony with the mind of God.

One of the interesting ethical issues to come out of the Clay-Fee exchange was the question of expediency. Fee may have picked up this basic concern at Lane Seminary. When he was there, he may have learned a part of their history. The rebels had described the action of the faculty and board in silencing the students as “the triumph of expediency over right.”⁶⁶ This led to the strong principle at Oberlin that “public institutions no less than private Christians must do right however contrary to popular sentiment.”⁶⁷ Fee wrote a fascinating little essay in his Autobiography on the subject of expediency.

The reader will allow me to here say, that, in my judgement this notion of expediency in the non-utterance of moral truth, lest it should hinder success...was the great mistake of his [Mr. Clay's] life...it took from him that moral power that was necessary for success. [Fee was referring to a remark of Clay that were he in New England he too would be a higher law man for he thought he could carry it off]. It is sometimes true that a man must stand still and see the salvation of God...commit himself to that which God can use, the ab-

solite right, and then work and wait until God can vindicate the right.⁶⁸

In true revival style Fee continued to correspond with Clay seeking to have him become a Christian, repent of his former activity in self-seeking and accept a physician as personal Saviour.

The founders of Berea came to a place where the people loved to sing. Sister Elizabeth Rogers taught the students many songs. J.A.R. Rogers wrote later how it was a joyful sound to hear the boys and girls, dinner pail in hand, singing their way home. The students on the ridge sang a new song to be answered back by their classmates from the Glades. Antiphonally they sang, "I'm a pilgrim and I'm a stranger."⁶⁹ The words attract the attention of an intellectual historian. The college was founded to glorify God and to serve the world. For the founders, however, allegiance to a higher law meant that the best way to serve the world may be to sometimes oppose the world.

The contemporary relevance of this stance can be confirmed by those who would take seriously the motto of the college seal: God hath made of one blood all nations of men. Because of our different context there may be some other aspects of the early message which may not speak to our condition. The weight of the thought of the founders would not have successive generations of Bereans idolizing them or making normative their doctrines or practices. They would, no doubt, appreciate the kind of engaging dialogue with the heritage which inspires faithfulness in the present and helps shape the vision for the future.

If you would enter Phelps Stokes Chapel and walk a complete circle, you could engage in a visual encounter with the founders. If they were to literally or figuratively step out of the pictures on the hallowed walls and join you, many of you would not like them. They would be too "religious," or too dogmatic, too absolutist, too narrow-minded, and too old fashioned in many of their opinions. But you could also discover that they would be genuine, concerned about you, graced with warm hospitality and deeply committed to Christ and the kingdom coming. Whether or not you like their thought or these interpretations of their beliefs, they are worth knowing. For Berea College has a great heritage, one which we pray will live in the heart of Kentucky and the hearts of Berea's Alumni and friends.

Dale W. Brown
October, 1982

APPENDIX

STATEMENTS OF PURPOSE

For an endowment drive in 1851, the Prudential Committee at Oberlin published a statement of "objects" which included:

1. To afford the means of a liberal and thorough education at so low a price that it may be within the reach of the humblest and most indigent class of students.
2. The union of physical with mental culture.
3. The thorough education of women.
4. To educate men for practical life.
5. The cultivation of the spirit of progress, the encouragement of every judicious and enlightened reform.
6. The inculcation of a liberal yet evangelical and practical Christianity.
7. The training of a band of self-denying, hardy, intelligent, efficient laborers, of both sexes, for the world's enlightenment and regeneration.

Oberlin Evangelist, Dec. 3, 1851

From the first constitution of Berea College, 1859.

First bylaw: The purpose of the College shall be to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, at the least possible expense, and all the inducements and facilities for manual labor which can reasonably be supplied by the Board of Trustees shall be offered.

Second bylaw: This College shall be under an influence strictly Christian, and as such opposed to sectarianism, slaveholding, caste, and every other wrong institution or practice.

The Great Commitments of Berea College

- To provide an educational opportunity primarily for students from Appalachia who have high ability but limited economic resources.
- To provide an education of high quality with a liberal arts foundation and outlook.
- To stimulate understanding of the Christian faith and to emphasize the Christian ethic and the motive of service to mankind.
- To demonstrate through the student labor program that labor, mental and manual, has dignity as well as utility.
- To promote the ideals of brotherhood, equality, and democracy, with particular emphasis on interracial education.
- To maintain on our campus and to encourage in our students a way of life characterized by plain living, pride in labor well done, zest for learning, high personal standards, and concern for the welfare of others.
- To serve the Appalachian region primarily through education but also by other appropriate services.

Summary compiled and re-adopted by the
Berea College Board of Trustees, 1967

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Donald Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976) relates a kind of evangelicalism which came out of Finney revivalism and its widespread influence and social message.
- ² E.H. Fairchild, *Berea College, Kentucky: An Interesting History* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Co., 1883), p. 5.
- ³ Abolitionist covenants in reference to war have been and are being formulated by Christian peace groups.
- ⁴ Dayton, p. 18.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, p. 19.
- ⁶ Robert Samuel Fletcher, I, *A History of Oberlin College* (Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1943), pp. 52-53.
- ⁷ Lawrence Lesick, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America* (Metuchen, N.J.; The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1980), p. 51.
- ⁸ Dayton, p. 36.
- ⁹ Lesick, p. 131.
- ¹⁰ John G. Fee, *An Autobiography* (Chicago: National Christian Association, 1891), p. 14.
- ¹¹ Fletcher, I, p. 89.
- ¹² John W. Kurtz, *John Frederick Oberlin* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976). An excellent biography by a recent professor of German at Oberlin.
- ¹³ Dayton, p. 40.
- ¹⁴ Fletcher, I, p. 300.
- ¹⁵ Albert Swing, *James H. Fairchild* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1907), p. 196.
- ¹⁶ John A.R. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College* (Berea: Berea College Press, 1933; first published in 1904), p. 48.
- ¹⁷ George Candee Papers, Berea College Archives, Kentucky.
- ¹⁸ Fletcher, I, p. 261.
- ¹⁹ Dayton, p. 64.
- ²⁰ Wayne Nicholas Lobue, "Religious Romanticism and Social Revitalization: the Oberlin Perfectionists," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1972). Constitutes an excellent documentation of the interrelatedness of New England thought, Finney revivalism and social reform.
- ²¹ "The Origin, Development and Implementation of the Purposes of Berea College," *Berea College Self-Study Report: 1962-63*, pp. 8-18.
- ²² Philip Shaw Paludan, *Victims: A True Story of the Civil War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).
- ²³ Elisabeth S. Peck, *Berea's First Century* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1955), p. 72.
- ²⁴ *Catalog of Berea Institute* (Berea College, 1866-67), p. 23.
- ²⁵ E.g., Donald M. Scott, *From Office to Profession: The New England Ministry 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), pp. 38ff.
- ²⁶ Charles G. Finney, *Sermons on Important Subjects* (New York: John S. Taylor, 1836), pp. 3-42.
- ²⁷ Charles G. Finney, *Love is Not a Special Way of Feeling*. Extracts from Finney's *Lectures on Systematic Theology* (1846), (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., n.d.), p. 79.
- ²⁸ J.A.R. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College*, p. 60.
- ²⁹ Rogers to President Frost, 15 September 1902, J.A.R. Rogers Papers, Berea College Archives, Kentucky.
- ³⁰ Rogers to President Frost, 8 March 1901, *Ibid*.
- ³¹ Robert Loesch, *Kentucky Abolitionist: John Gregg Fee* (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Theological Seminary, 1969), p. 188.
- ³² Fletcher, I, pp. 223-33.

FOOTNOTES

- ³³ J.H. Fairchild, *The Essential Doctrines of the Gospel: A Sermon* (Boston: Peirce and Williams, 1829), p. 21.
- ³⁴ Fee, Sermon, 20 March 1898, Berea College Archives, Kentucky.
- ³⁵ Fletcher, I, p. 229.
- ³⁶ J.A.R. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College*, p. 109.
- ³⁷ Theodore Weld, *First Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions* (New York: S.W. Benedict and Co., 1833), p. 87.
- ³⁸ Fletcher, I, p. 341.
- ³⁹ Fee, *An Autobiography*, p. 18. Also Philip Wesley English, "John G. Fee: Kentucky Spokesman for Abolition and Educational Reform," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1973), p. 88.
- ⁴⁰ Richard B. Drake, *One Apostle Was a Lumberman*, John G. Hanson and Berea's Founding Generation (Berea: Berea College Press, 1975), pp. 46-47. Also John G. Hanson, "On Physical Culture: the Gymnasticon or Gymnasium," John G. Hanson Papers, Berea College Archives, Kentucky.
- ⁴¹ Fletcher, I, p. 328. Excellent longer discussion can be found from pp. 308-39.
- ⁴² Lesick, p. 72.
- ⁴³ Fletcher, I, p. 205. The quote is from a letter from John Keep to Lydia Keep, Nov. 5-13, 1839.
- ⁴⁴ Loesch, p. 189.
- ⁴⁵ E.H. Fairchild, *Berea College*, p. 39.
- ⁴⁶ Finney, *Love is Not a Special Way of Feeling*, p. 35. For longer discussion, pp. 4-36.
- ⁴⁷ Edward H. Madden, *Civil Disobedience and Moral Law* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), p. 47. See entire section, pp. 44-62.
- ⁴⁸ Fletcher, I, p. 279.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 278.
- ⁵⁰ English, p. 108.
- ⁵¹ Loesch, p. 21.
- ⁵² Fee, *An Autobiography*, p. 82.
- ⁵³ English, p. 90.
- ⁵⁴ Lesick, pp. 175-76.
- ⁵⁵ Fee, *Sinfulness of Slaveholding* (New York: John A. Gray, 1851), pp. 6-28.
- ⁵⁶ Fletcher, I, p. 263.
- ⁵⁷ Fee, *Freemasonry... Wrong, Dangerous, Impious* (Berea, 1898).
- ⁵⁸ *The Reunion*, I (July, 1890).
- ⁵⁹ Dayton, "Evangelical Roots of Feminism," *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*. An excellent one chapter source for this subject.
- ⁶⁰ Fletcher, I, p. 234.
- ⁶¹ Lesick, pp. 171-89. An excellent discussion of the differences between Finney and Weld.
- ⁶² Fletcher, I, p. 265. See chapters 19, 25, 26 for the history of antislavery movement at Oberlin.
- ⁶³ Madden, p. 96.
- ⁶⁴ Fee, *An Autobiography*, pp. 104-105.
- ⁶⁵ Direct quotes from Fee, *Sinfulness of Slaveholding*. Also, *The Reunion*, I, no. 4, p. 10.
- ⁶⁶ Lesick, p. 135.
- ⁶⁷ Dayton, p. 39.
- ⁶⁸ Fee, *An Autobiography*, pp. 126, 128.
- ⁶⁹ Rogers, *Birth of Berea College*, p. 54.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

The following is offered as a guide to further study and research rather than as an extensive bibliography. It is possible to gather the sources for this study through a perusal of the footnotes. Here, general subject areas are listed. Specific books which are suggested include those which are considered especially basic or easily overlooked.

Berea College and the Founders

The college library, including the archives, contains material by and about John G. Fee, John A.R. Rogers, John G. Hanson, George Candee, William Lincoln, E. Henry Fairchild, William Goodell Frost.

There are two Founders Day speeches which are helpful:

Muelder, Herman R. "The Academic Ancestry of Berea," 20 April 1938.

Smith, Louis. "John G. Fee's Berea," 2 October 1975.

The library contains an outstanding Appalachian collection in which relevant material can be found in the areas of religion and culture.

An excellent history marked the centennial:

Peck, Elisabeth S. *Berea's First Century*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1955.

Revivalism

Most standard works on revivalism may be helpful, especially those which deal totally or in part with the Second Great Awakening. One often referred to book is:

McLoughlin, William G. Jr. *Modern Revivalism*. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959.

Charles G. Finney

There are many books about and by Finney, including books of sermons, theology, biographies. Noteworthy examples are:

Finney, Charles. *Finney's Systematic Theology*. Minneapolis, Minn. Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1976.

Finney, Charles. *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1876.

Finney, Charles. *Sermons on Important Subjects*. New York: John S. Taylor, 1936.

Lane Seminary

One of the fascinating stories in American church history has been treated recently in a thorough and scholarly study:

Lesick, Lawrence Thomas. *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1980.

Oberlin College

Much intellectual history can be derived from books dealing with Asa Mahan, Charles Finney, James H. Fairchild and the abolitionist movement. Two of interest to Bereans include the biography of the French pastor, after whom the college is named, and the extensive two volume work by one of Oberlin's professors.

Kurtz, John W. *John Frederic Oberlin*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976.

Fletcher, Robert Samuel. *A History of Oberlin College*. Two Volumes: Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1943.

The Social Reform Teachings

Dayton, Donald W. *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

This study points to this evangelical tradition as one which combines emphases on personal faith with social reform. It contains chapters on Finney, Weld, the Lane Rebellion and the Founding of Oberlin, Civil Disobedience, the Tappans, the roots of feminism, other leaders, denominational developments and movements.

Manual Labor

A rich primary source is found in a report by one of the most radical leaders:

Weld, Theodore. *First Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions*. New York: S.W. Benedict & Co., 1833.

Higher Law

This study examines both secular expressions in New England and the Oberlin evangelicals.

Madden, Edward H. *Civil Disobedience and Moral Law in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1968.

Closely related to this area are the many treatments of the antislavery and abolitionist movements of this period.

Related Intellectual Currents

The following are suggestions for the relationship between the Finney revival movement and Romanticism and New England Transcendentalism.

Lobue, Wayne Nicolas. "Religious Romanticism and Social Revitalization: the Oberlin Perfectionists." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1972.

"The Origin, Development and Implementation of the Purposes of Berea College," *Berea College Self-Study Report: 1962-1963*, pp. 8-18.

Portrait of Theodore Weld from Benjamin P. Thomas, *Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom*, Rutgers University Press, 1950.

Drawing of Broadway Tabernacle from Susan Hayes Ward, *History of the Broadway Tabernacle Church*, New York, 1901.

All illustrations not otherwise credited are from the Berea College Library

